DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 311 278 CE 053 308

AUTHOR Dampier, Lawrence Paul
TITLE Towards a Public Policy for Adult Education in B.C.: A Review.
PUB DATE Sep 77
NOTE 85p.; Master's paper, University of British Columbia.
PUB TYPE Information Analyses (070) -- Dissertations/Theses - Master Theses (042)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Adult Education; *Educational History; Foreign Countries; *Government Role; *Government School Relationship; Lifelong Learning; *Public Policy
IDENTIFIERS *British Columbia

ABSTRACT

This document's purpose is to trace the growing acceptance of adult education in British Columbia (Canada) by the government, using public policy as the key indicator. The document consists of an introduction, four substantive sections, and a 31-item bibliography. The first section develops an overview of public policy. Included are considerations of what public policy is, why it is necessary, who is responsible for making it, how it is formulated, and what different types of public policy exist regarding adult education. The second section is a review of the evolving acceptance by government of its responsibilities for providing education generally. The resulting distinction between youth and adult education is considered, and an outline of modern attempts to integrate all education under the banner of lifelong learning is included. The third section traces the attempts in British Columbia to ensure the provision of adult education. The roles of the provincial and federal governments, various fact-finding commissions, professional associations, and other organizations concerned with adult education are addressed. The fourth section considers the present level of government support for adult education and looks at what might be reasonably expected in the future in terms of supportive public policy. (CML)

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TOWARDS A PUBLIC POLICY FOR ADULT EDUCATION IN B.C.: A REVIEW

by

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A MAJOR PAPER SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF EDUCATION
in the
FACULTY OF EDUCATION
(Adult Education)

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INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century adult education has both assumed and been given an ever increasing role to play, not only in the lives of individuals but also in serving the national interest of many countries. Almost every author on the subject refers to the essential social functions of adult education. Representative of such works is that of Lyman Bryson who, writing in 1935, identified these as being remedial, occupational, relational, liberal and political in nature. These social functions are a part of

> . . .all the activities with an educational purpose that are carried on by people engaged in the ordinary business of life.[1]

Thus adult education has been accorded a potentially broad scope in which to make a contribution to society and the acknowledged importance of adult education has raised demands for guarantees of access for all adults.

In Canada governments at both the national and the provincial level have assumed, to varying degrees, the responsibility for educational opportunities for adults. This has been effected through public policies which in one way or another have implications for the practice of adult education. However, most adult educators feel

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that, to date, public policies have fallen far short of what is required if adult education is ever to realize its potential contribution to the well-being of the nation as well as to its citizenery.

The need for public policy regarding adult education in British Columbia has recently been emphasized in the Report of the Committee on Continuing and Community Education in British Columbia[2] which was presented to the Minister of Education in December, 1976. This report coincided with the deliberations of the Nineteenth General Conference of UNESCO held in Nairobi in November, 1976, where the international policy statement, The Development of Adult Education[3] was adopted. For adult educators in British Columbia these two documents together represent the most current, collective and formalized thinking on the need for public policy to ensure the provision of adequate adult education opportunities in the province.

The timing of these two documents was not entirely coincidental. The needs of modern society which demand attention by adult educators are as apparent in British Columbia as they are in other parts of the world. In an attempt to address themselves to these needs, adult educators require the involvement and support of government in the form of public policy. The argument applies equally to those whom adult education is designed to serve, namely the adult learner. Only through public policy can there be a system of guarantees which ensures an equality of access to opportunities for education of adults beyond what is provided for in the pre-adult education system.

In the past, public policy has worked both for and against adult education. It has worked "for" when it has been supportive and

facilitating. It has worked "against" when it has either ignored completely the needs of adult education or, worse yet, when it has resulted in a withdrawal of existing support. Generally speaking, however, there has occurred in British Columbia an evolving acceptance (albeit slow and limited) on the part of government, as indicated by public policy, of the imperative of adult education. It is the purpose of this paper to trace this growing acceptance of adult education by the government, using public policy as the key indicator.

The paper is divided into three sections: an understanding of public policy, a perspective of the place of adult education within the educational system, and the evolvement of public policy for adult education in British Columbia. A summary concludes the analysis.

The first section develops an overview of public policy, what it is, why it is necessary, who is responsible for making public policy, how it is formulated and what different types of public policy exist regarding adult education.

The second section is a review of the evolving acceptance by government of its responsibilities for providing education generally. The resulting distinction between youth and adult education is then considered. This section concludes with an outline of modern attempts to integrate all education under the banner of lifelong learning.

The third section traces the attempts in British Columbia at ensuring the provision of adult education. Included is a consideration of the role of both the provincial and federal governments, various fact finding commissions, professional associations and other organizations concerned with adult education.

The summary considers the present level of government support for adult education and looks at what might be reasonably expected in the future in terms of supportive public policy.

AN UNDERSTANDING OF PUBLIC POLICY

Modern government, willingly or otherwise, has been accorded an ever increasing and often decisive role to play in the affairs of individuals within a society. As the Economic Council of Canada notes:

> The expansion of government activities in Canada as in other western countries is not something new. It has been going on for decades, though not always at the same pace. To keep track of it is not easy; there is no single or simple measure of the importance of government that can be used to monitor the change. Moreover, the expansion is a complex process that defies simple explanation in economic terms. When all is said and done, the explanation must be traced through a series of influences emanating from amny parts of a society, coupled with the decisions and actions-past and present-of politicians, administrators and others.[4]

The evidence of this phenomenon is the proliferation of public policy.

Public policy is a statement of government's intentions in a particular area. It is given expression by way of legislative enactments, executive orders, administrative regulations, tax dollars spent and the like. Public policy can be defined as "the relationship of a government unit to its environment".[5] The study of public policy however, is not a simple matter, as pointed out by Eulau and Eyestone in their analysis of public policy:

> It finds expression in general programs and specific decisions, or in policy declarations of decision-makers. But because a policy need not be declared to be a policy, analysis cannot rely on manifest statements or overt decisions alone but must concern itself with policy outcomes.[6]

Yet public policy cannot be explained if viewed simply in terms of policy outcomes. Rather, the dynamic of the relationship of government to its environment must be considered. Seen this way public policy becomes a "response of government to challenges or pressures from the physical and social environment".[7] This, then, suggests public policy is more the "authoritative allocation of values for society".[8] Thus the study of public policy takes on the further dimension of being the study of politics in society. For the purposes of this paper it will be useful to keep in mind the emphasis that in reality public policy consists of "the interactions between society and politics, between the social structure and the state".[9]

A further important consideration in the delineation of public policy is that the study of public policy is concerned with outcomes. In this way one is able to determine what "is". However, it is equally useful, although far less definitive, to consider what "is not". A government, for example, by virtue of not proclaiming in any way a public policy on a certain important issue, is effectively adopting what might best be described as a muted public policy. Thus having no public policy at all in many instances may well be a considered position. To announce a public policy involves the government in taking on a commitment. By adopting a muted policy the government effectively denies any responsibility for such a commitment. Thus it is important to determine if indeed there is a need for which the

government is responsible for meeting through adult education policies.

John Lowe, in his global view of adult education, The Education of Adults: A World Perspective, reports that the 1960 International Conference on Adult Education held in Montreal recommended that the state, without necessarily exercising control, "should ensure, by one means or another, that the provision is adequate."[10] Lowe maintains:

> The vital desideratum is that the State should establish suitable machinery for ensuring that the provision is adequate and that neither groups of people nor particular regional areas are victims of the kind of discrimination referred to in the preceding chapters. Only the State is in a position to take the over-all view, to determine norms of provision, to locate gaps and see that they are filled, to encourage research and development and to exercise regulatory supervision. And only the State is in a position to ensure that non-formal education and independent learning are treated as part of the general provision.[11]

The particular groups of people Lowe was referring to had been singled out earlier in the Final Report of the 1972 International Conference on Adult Education held in Tokyo.[12] Included were illiterates, the poor, women, the aging, the physically and mentally handicapped, prisoners, the unemployed, ethnic monorities, immigrants, migrant workers and the unskilled and semi-skilled members of the work force.

In recognition of such a need existing for adult education throughout the world and the critical importance for public policies to meet these needs, UNESCO produced a document calling for government action. UNESCO's Recommendation on the Development of Adult Education,[13] the most impressive public document on adult education since the famous

1919 Report[14] in Britain, provides the necessary blueprint by which public policies can be formulated.

In British Columbia the recent "Committee on Continuing and Community education" specified a number of concerns regarding adult education to which public policy must be addressed. In their preliminary paper inviting public response, the following concerns of adult education were identified: 1) low priority, 2) inadequate funding, 3) limited coordination, 4) lack of assessment, 5)unequal access, 6) inadequate program development, 7) inadequate counselling.[15] In the Report of the Committee it was advocated that there be a higher educational priority and increased financial support for adult education.

> The rationale for this position is that society, as well as the individual, is enriched by adult education. [16]

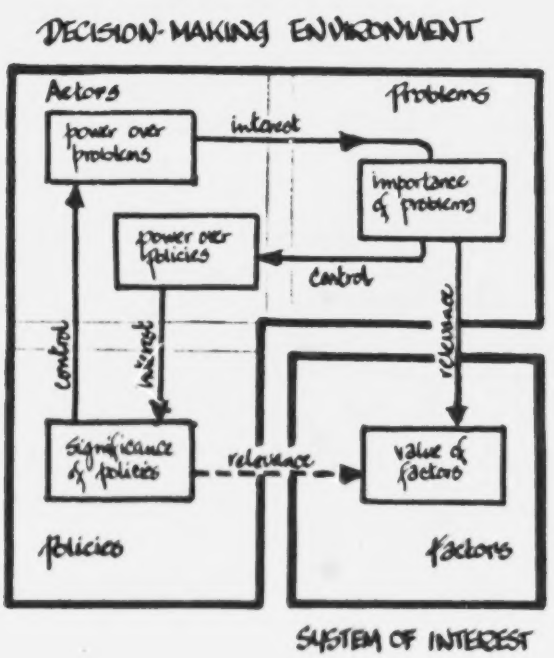
(This theme of the essential relationship between an educated, informed citizenry and a democratic society is a tenet of adult education.)

To be sure, there are many more arguments which could be cited as to the need for public policy specific to adult education. However, it is sufficient to say that adult education has assumed such a degree of social significance as to justify its advocacy to the policy makers. The question which must next be answered is--who are the policy makers?

Generally speaking, government is the only legitimate authority that can make public policy decisions. However, "democratic theory posits that government decisions will be made only after those affected have a chance to express their viewpoints, and after a compromise of opposing interests has been made".[17] In fact, though, democratic society is not nearly as open as the ideal suggests. What occurs is

that "the policy making process is a complex mechanism involving all levels of government, and a wide range of political institutions that shape the demands and supports of government".[18] Hence it is not safe to assume that the legislative process alone is responsible for policy decisions. Instead, a close analysis must be done on all the interests vested in a particular area of policy formulation to determine who indeed is making policy decisions.

In a booklet describing how concepts of collective decision-making are integrated with social power, Michael Batty describes the decision making system.[19] He presents a paradigm which indicates the interface between the four components of the decision-making system: the actors, the problems, the policies and the factors making up the system of interest. His paradigm is as follows:



Batty explains the working of the system in the following way:

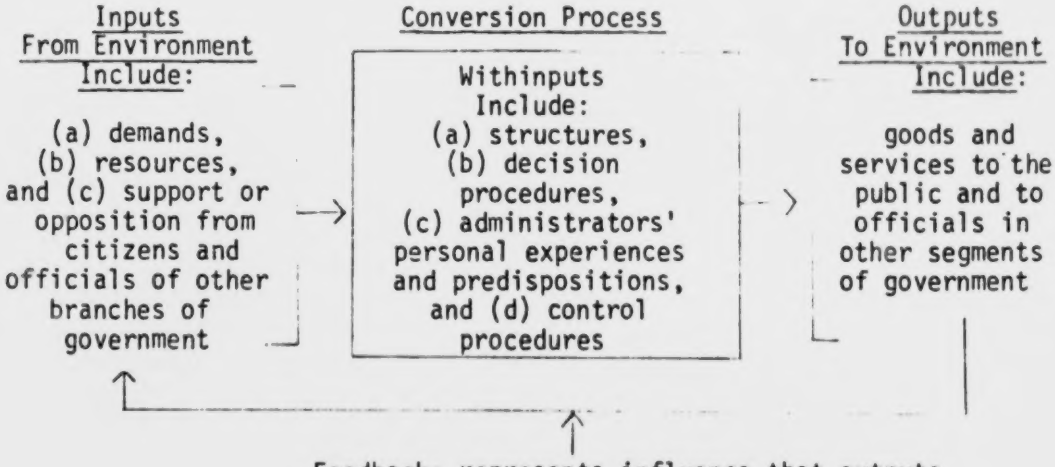
> There are four sets of objects which characterise (sic) the system: actors, problems of the system of interest, policies designed to alleviate these same problems, and factors describing the system of interest used to define problems and policies. Policies and problems are not coincident for problems can be solved by combinations of policies, and thus any one policy affects a variety of problems. The lack of correspondence between policies and problems is further demonstrated by the ways in which the actors relate to these issues. The interest and control an actor has over a problem is in terms of how important he thinks the problem is and how he can influence the other actors in this respect. And the same goes for the actor's interest and control over policies which will reflect how significant the actor thinks a policy is and how much control he has over this... Furthermore, interest and control are not coincident...Clearly the theory attempts to account for a wide range of situations whose precise form will depend on the particular structure of the reality to which it is applied.[20]

Batty's basic theory of the decision-making system can be expanded to suggest a mathematical prediction for decision-making derived from values ascribed to each of the four factors and relating one to another in terms of function. For the purpose of this paper the above paradigm alone serves to illustrate the dimensions involved in determining who makes public policy decisions.

In the final analysis, about all that can be said for certain is that some body in the legislative process is ultimately accountable for the decisions made and particularly when expenditures of public funds are involved. "In reality, the level of public expenditures in any country at any point in time is the result of an interlocking series decisions and actions, past and present. These decisions are made mainly by those who play the roles of "politicians" and "civil servants"

in the society".[21]

In modern government the generic term for the various legislative bodies is the "administrative system". It is within this system that public policy is formulated. The following paradigm illustrates the dynamic nature of the administrative system:[22]


Inputs From Environment Include:
(a) demands, (b) resources, and (c) support or opposition from citizens and officials of other branches of government
Conversion Process
Withinputs Include:
(a) structures, (b) decision procedures, (c) administrators' personal experiences and predispositions, and (d) control procedures
Outputs To Environment Include:
goods and services to the public and to officials in other segments of government
Feedback: represents influence that outputs have upon the environment in a way that shapes subsequent inputs

Environment: includes (a) clients, (b) costs of goods and services, and (c) members of the public and other government officials who support or oppose agencies, administrators, or programs

Thus there are five elements in the administrative system:

1) an environment that both stimulates administrators and receives the products of their work;

2) the inputs that carry stimuli from the environment to the administrators;

3) the outputs that carry the result of administrative action to the environment;

4) a conversion process that transforms (converts) inputs into outputs;

5) feedback that transmits the outputs of one period--as they interact with features in the environment--back to the conversion process as the inputs of a later time.

All these features interact with one another and together they work as the "policy process".

> The policy process includes the formulation, approval, and implementation of government programs. It joins public administrators to numerous other actors who have a stake in policy; these include officials in other branches of government, private citizens, interest groups, political parties, and sometimes the spokesmen of foreign governments. Also, within the policy process are the ideas, resources, stimuli, and constraints which influence the participants. The policy process is dynamic and is affected by intense controversies. Participants argue about the proper goals of government, about the programs that are suitable for obtaining each goal, about the probable impact of government programs on various segments of the population, and about the implication of certain programs for other activities of government.[23]

The study of this policy process, known as policy science, has been developed and is concerned with all aspects of public decision-making. In policy science a great deal of emphasis is placed on the input element of the policy process. This is referred to as the "structure" and comprises the network of organizations, institutions and individuals that contribute to or have an input into policy making. In attempting to analyze the formulation of public policy respecting adult education it is important to consider the written or articulated inputs from the structure. In fact such inputs are communications and for this reason the basic model of communication is useful in any such analysis.[24] This model, with one addition, is presented as follows:

Attempting to communicate with government with the intention of biasing that government is no easy task. The literature of adult education is mum on the subject and major authors on the subject of leadership in adult education (Brunner, 1959; Houle, 1961; and Lowe, 1975) do not mention this function as being part of the top leadership's role. However, an analysis of the communication model as it applies to adult education communicating to government will be useful to the present discussion.

The "who" in the model represents the body which desires to be influential. It may be a single person as in the case, perhaps, of an author of a book, an article advocating a particular point of view or even a letter. It might also be someone who has ready access to, for example, the Minister of Education. More likely, though, the "who" is a group representing an association with a vested interest, such as the Pacific Association for Continuing Education. It could just as easily be another department of government wishing to put forward their point of view. "Who" could also be the total population when, for example, Statistics Canada determines from their census that a relatively large percentage of the population is illiterate. In this case society is metaphorically given a voice, through statistics, to express its current condition. Of course in a democracy every citizen has the right to address himself to government. The point regarding the formulation of policy is that government, representing the people, is more likely

to be responsive to collective thinking than individual thinking.

The content of "what" is said depends on the orientation of the individual or group. It may consist of anything from merely a description of their work in the field of adult education through to a formal brief complete with recommendations and endorsement from other groups. Such input may be further substantiated by information gained from comparative studies in adult education.

An elaboration of the communication model concerns the question of "why" a certain body is suggesting a particular course of action. This brings into question the motives of the source body and the goals towards which they are working. This is the background, the environment, involved in any communication. In many instances it is this information, even more than the actual communication, which determines the meaning of what is being said.

Knowing "to whom" to direct a communication is an art of politics in itself and has been alluded to earlier in this section. Commonly the feeling is that one must go directly to the "top". While government Ministers at times respond to such a strategy they more often than not refer communication elsewhere for consideration. Moreso now than ever before the civil service is responsible for policy formation. This suggest that their support (whoever "they" may be) is necessary in addition to the support of the politicians involved. It will be noted that government, besides being perplexing, is also amorphous!

The consideration of "through what channel" is very important. Adult education as a field of practice can take considerable credit in providing some creative thinking in this regard. To begin, however,

there are the traditional channels which are always open, such as a written brief accompanied by a personal representation. The receiving of such communications forms part of the "working day" of any government. Further, a group may secure the support of a politician to bring the voice of a communication directly to the legislature as in the case of the Hartke Bill for Adult Education in the United States. As well, the government, if it considers a matter of substantive concern, may ask for input by way of a Royal Commission or a less extensive Departmental Committee. This establishes a formal communication channel between government and the population.[31] However, even at such times as the government purports to be receptive to input, the communication often either goes unheard or becomes dwarfed against the volume of other inputs.

One means of communicating with the administrative system in which adult education has provided considerable leadership is that of community development. This process works for commitment by those most directly affected by, or wishing to be affected by, public policy. In the future community development may prove to be the most direct and effective channel in the formulation of public policy.

The final component of the communication model measures the effect of the communication. This corresponds to the output of the model of the administrative system presented earlier. The effect can only be assessed in terms of policy outcomes, not simply as manifest statements or overt decisions.

In analyzing those public policy outcomes which have implications for the development of adult education it is useful to have a conceptual

framework from which to work. John Lowe has developed such a framework specific to adult education.

In a paper prepared for the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development Lowe positted four possible public policy postures that a government could adopt regarding the provision of adult education.[25] These range from having no policy at all (thereby leaving adult education exposed to situational forces) to having adult education as a well considered, planned and integrated part of the social-economic order. In detail, Lowe's four alternatives are:

> (a) to let it evolve, as in the past, in a spontaneous and sporadic fashion without reference to an explicit public policy;
>
> (b) to strengthen and co-ordinate the existing range of activities but not to perceive it as an active instrument of public policy in the social and economic arenas;
>
> (c) to strengthen and co-ordinate the existing range of activities while simultaneously pursuing a positive policy of support for specific activities judged to be national priorities;
>
> (d) to create a comprehensive service of adult education as an integral element of broadly conceived educational systems and to relate its functions to the social, economic and cultural objectives of the nation.

Lowe's typology is potentially the most helpful in analyzing the historical significance of public policies acted on in the past as well as assessing present policies. This is due to the premise on which it is based, namely that adult education and the social and economic order are interrelated when adult education is perceived as an active instrument of public policy.

While it may be possible to devise other frameworks based on

whatever criteria the analyst wishes to use, the present paper considers Lowe's framework the most useful because of its emphasis on policy outcomes. As public policy is concerned with change and change can only be evaluated in terms of outcomes, such an emphasis is most appropriate.

Because public policy almost always involves a commitment for expenditure of public funds the administrative system must be convinced of its social or political value before such policies are created. Government must be as concerned for dysfunctional, latent or indirect consequences as it is for the functional, direct and manifest consequences. As a result, public policies are "hard to come by" and even more so when the area of need is one which does not constitute part of the government's own plan for action. For this reason there is no formula for bringing about change in public policy. For the most part, influencing the administrative system is difficult work which often takes inordinate amounts of time. In part this explains the present lack of public policy with respect to adult education and it also explains the genesis of the distinction between youth and adult education.

AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION

As a movement adult education has developed in response to a great variety of societal forces. For this reason any historical account of the evolution of the notion of adult education must take into consideration the forces at work at that time. This is reflected in the following statement:

> The history of ideas has meaning only when it is concerned with the processes by which ideas come to be held, oust other ideas, become a force in the social world. The history of an idea begins with the search for the kind of people who held it, an assessment of the point at which it became socially significant, and the nature of its social significance. The story of the fate of an idea is the story of the social machinery and movements that promote, develop and implement it, or distort, trim, contain and destroy it.[26]

Thus in tracing the development of public policy regarding adult education it is important to be aware of the more general movement for education.

Public education in British Columbia as first legislated by the Public Schools Act of 1872 has its antecedents not only in the two original crown colonies (which were united in 1866) but more noticeably in Britain, the United States and Eastern Canada. The early provision of education was based on those experiences which the first settlers brought with them. Thus, while conditions in the original settlements

were markedly different from those of whatever the mother country of the pioneers, to begin with ideas on education in B.C. were derivative in nature. This, of course, is typical of most colonial settlements.

It is not long before the process of adapting to change begins to influence future decisions. The initial imported ideas, though, are significant. They represent the prevailing attitudes of the time and as such take immediate root. Hence in early British Columbia public policy regarding education in general was strongly influenced by thinking from the "outside".

As the basis of all future reform and development lies on whatever the original policy may be it is important to first look at the factors influencing the original policy. In the case of British Columbia this is best done by looking at the educational system in Britain.

Popular education in Britain was not a reality until the passage in 1870 of the Education Act. The significance of this Act was that for the first time the State recognized its responsibility for providing elementary education for children. However, prior to the 1870 Act, the struggle for state education was confused and divided, as education was hardly held up as being a universal ideal.

The history of early education in Britain can be seen in terms of repression and even exploitation. This was particularly so in the class system which permeated Britain in the 1800's.

> Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the purpose of education, there is general agreement that it influences the behavior and character of the individual and affects the economic and social life of the community. The extent to which it can do so has been determined by the authorities who have controlled educational policy and provision, at one time the Church and from the beginning of the twentieth century both the Church and the State.[27]

In Britain of the early nineteenth century the provision of education was very much a function of social class. For the aristocracy formal education was one of the distinctive aspects of that privileged position. Flowing from this were advantages for further education and enlightenment such as access to university, libraries, printed materials and various Royal Societies.

For the working class, and even the middle class, access to any sort of education was much more difficult to come by. The socio-economic consequences resulting from the industrial revolution were responsible for appalling conditions in the burgeoning urban centers. It was feared, however, that giving the lower classes the right to education would cause social upheaval, that popular education would result in a working class that would be both seditious and dangerous. In a debate in the House of Commons it was rendered by none other than the then President of the Royal Society, Davies Gibby, that education,

> However specious in theory the project of giving education to the labouring classes of the poor, it would in effect be prejudicial to their morals and happiness; it would teach them to despise their lot in life, instead of making them good servants in agriculture and other laborious employments to which their rank in society has destined them; instead of teaching them subordination it would make them factious and refractory, it would enable them to read seditious pamphlets...and publications against Christianity; it would render them insolent to their masters; and in a few years the legislature would find it necessary to direct the strong arm of power towards them.[28]

During this time what little education was made available to the lower classes was being done almost exclusively through the church. While this effort included adults as well as children, the numbers benefitting were relatively few when compared with the need. Further, the education was largely sectarian in design and content. Such Societies as the National Society for Educating the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church (1811), The British and Foreign Schools Society (1814), and the earlier Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (1698) carried out this limited work. Educational opportunities designed to accommodate adults began with the Sunday School movement in the latter part of the eighteenth century whereby both adults and children were taught together. From this developed the Adult School movement, an acknowledgement of the fact adults not only had different learner characteristics than children but they were also adverse to attending school with children. Nonetheless the emphasis for both adults and children was on moral and religious education and while they were taught to read, seldom was instruction given in how to write.

The industrial revolution with its urbanization around the factories entered into all aspects of the lives of those in the working class. It is not surprising, therefore, that factory owners were held responsible for seeing to the education of their child workers. The first Factory Act of 1802, although for the most part left unenforced (it did not provide for the appointment of factory inspectors), called for instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic as well as for compulsory attendance at church on Sundays. Of importance to our

consideration is the fact that the Act singled out the conditions under which children were being forced to work and it half-heartedly attempted to regulate those conditions. One of the provisions, as mentioned, was for education.

Concommitant with this awakening as to the desirability of education for young workers (albeit reserved and somewhat limited) was the development and spread of the Mechanics' Institutes designed for the more highly skilled workers. The fundamental propositions of the Mechanics' Institutes, as identified by Gratton, were,

> that they should promote a knowledge of general science, diffuse rational information to the workers, and elevate character by providing worthwhile 'intellectural pleasures' and 'refined amusements.[29]

The institutes represent an effort by and for adults for educational enlightenment independent of both church and government policy.

In the succeeding years, culminating in 1870 with the passage of the Education Act, Parliament (i.e. the upper class for the most part) gradually accepted the principle of the necessity for a state supported education system free of sectarian domination. Of importance to note is the fierce struggle that was involved in wresting from Parliament even the most minor concession favouring education. However the precedent was by now established that it was children who would receive state support for their education. Thus, in the move for educational reform, adult education was not considered as a bona-fide educational need. This lack of recognition is quite understandable considering there was at the time no adult education movement as such and certainly no lobby on behalf of the educational interests of adults. Rather, where agreement

on educational needs did exist, it was for the needs of children and particularly for those working in the factories.

The implications for present day adult education of the above mentioned nineteenth century movement towards state support of youth education are obvious. This movement was not, of course, confined to Britain but applied most everywhere. In North America, and particularly in the United States, the move was much more egalitarian, undoubtably due in large measure to the less structured and less entrenched social system and the less settled nature of the country. However, once the principle of state support for youth education was established, it became irrevocable. It soon became evident that the limited support initially given was quite inadequate. Elementary schools were not enough, secondary schools were also required. Also the state became increasingly dependent on having a literate citizenry educated in at least the rudiments of knowledge.

Adult education was not, however, stagnating during this period, nor were the needs of adults being ignored. As the 1919 Report pointed out:

> A dult education, then, has developed not per saltum, but as a natural concomitant of other educational and social developments.30

The movement in favour of adult education was described in the same report as being:

> neither esoteric nor superficial, neither the foible of a few select individuals nor the evanescent fashion of a movement. It is a natural movement which has its roots deep in popular needs.31

The acceptance of the responsibility for providing adult education,

as distinct from youth education, remained for the most part in the voluntary and private sector until the turn of the twentieth century. Hence a tradition was established which has characterized (or stigmatized) adult education even to the present.

In colonial British Columbia the impetus, such as it was, towards providing popular education carried over to the Hudson's Bay Company colony on Vancouver Island. It was quite within keeping that the Company undertook to provide some sort of education for the young.

> As soon as the colony at Vancouver Island was organized, the Hudson's Bay Company made arrangements to provide education for the children of its employees.32

Equally understandable was the fact that the first school officials were Church of England ministers and the style of instruction was based on the old monitorial system.

By 1865 the demand for a general education system was such that the Free School Act was passed by the legislature of the Colony of Vancouver Island. In the following year the two colonies united to form British Columbia and five years later joined Confederation. Two significant implications resulted: 1) Confederation and the British North America Act confirmed the perogative of education as being with the provincial government. 2) The Free Public School Act (1872) of the new legislature established free non-sectarian public schools open to all children between the ages of six and sixteen.

At the time of the state assuming the responsibility for providing education for children there were good reasons why a similar move for adults was not even considered. For one there were the views concerning the purpose of education so widely held by educationalists and the

general public alike. Secondly there were the physiological characteristics of the adult which were considered at that time to eliminate an adult from further learning opportunities. As for the first reason, education has long suffered under the notion of being a process which prepares one for life and not as a process which applies throughout life. Because an individual was thought to require certain basic knowledge as a prerequisite to acceptance into the everyday world of adult life, it was only logical that such learning should take place during youth. To miss out on such a preparation was to be sentenced to life as being an uneducated person. Going hand in hand with this idea was the second practicality which was the belief that an adult could not learn, that that capacity somehow ceased to exist with the passing of one's youth. A number of factors were operating to strengthen this belief. For one, in the class system so well defined in Britain and to a lesser extent in North America, education was held as one of the distinguishing variables. The upper class enjoyed the benefits of education to a much greater degree than did the lower classes. Thus, for the masses, education, or more accurately the lack of education, was a way of being denied the opportunity for social mobility.

Another factor deals with the relative ages which defined youth and adulthood at the time. Children in industrial Britain were put to work in the factories and mines as soon as they were capable of doing any work. By modern standards this was human usary of the worst sort.

> When the nineteenth century opened, the provision of anything approaching an organised education system could only have been an ironical insult to children taken from the workhouses in batches and "apprenticed" to mill and factory owners to work the best part of the clock round at an age when most of them had just cut their second teeth.[33]

Even such enlightened factory owner as Robert Owen, considered as a maverick by his peers, while not employing any childworkers under ten years of age, expected older children to work an eleven hour day. Whereas today the terminal point of state supported education can be seen to define the transition between youth and adulthood,[34] historically it was more the ability to put in a full days work and "stand on your own" which marked the more subtle transition into "workerhood".

A third factor conspiring against both youth and adults participating in education was the cost not so much of the education itself but of maintaining enough of an income to maintain a family at even little more than a subsistence level. As many members of the family as possible were required to work to provide an income. Such pecuniary considerations had indelible effects on even those children favoured by a better than average education. Managing life was an engrossing task which left little time, energy or resources for much else.

As for any thoughts of adult education the consequences were clear. During the time of their meager education children were subjected to what now are considered detrimental learning theories. For example there was the theory that in order to strengthen the mind's various faculties the student learned by employing such mental discipline strategies as root memorization. Thus there was little enthusiasm or stimulation for an adult to continue with an education beyond

what was compulsory. Usually education ceased by the age of twelve.

In British Columbia the objective of the 1872 Free School Act was simply to "give every child in the Province such knowledge as will fit him to become a useful and intelligent citizen in after years."[35] Little wonder that adults developed an apathy towards education, particularly when the length of the working day at that time is also taken into consideration. As a consequence of these factors very little was known of just what content areas would be of interest to adults.

It should be noted that many of the same inhibiting factors for adult education are as prevalent today as they were over one hundred years ago. In his book, Adult Education,[36] Coolie Verner cities two of the cultural forces which are acting to retard the development of adult education. One is a feeling of adversity toward education in general and the other is a belief in the notion that education is a state of "becoming" rather than "being".

It was not until the 1920's that many of these factors were beginning to be dispelled, thereby allowing adult education as a separate entity to gain a respectability of its own. There are four significant works which represent the vanguard of the twentieth century assertion of adult education. These are the 1919 Report of the British Ministry of Reconstruction, Thorndike's Adult Learning (1926), Lindeman's, The Meaning of Adult Education (1926), and Bryson's Adult Education (1936). The 1919 Report articulated the real need for education throughout life in a democracy; Thorndike's book provided the needed scientific research to prove conclusively that indeed adults have the capacity to learn; Lindeman's long essay supplied the necessary philosophical consideration

as to the individual and social necessity for adult education; Bryson contributed the important new "technology" for adult education. In this way these works symbolize the cornerposts of modern adult education.

In more recent times, and particularly since the Second International Conference on Adult Education held in Montreal in 1960, there has been a growing acceptance of the notion that education indeed is a lifelong process. Advocacy for public support of this concept of lifelong education dates back to the 1919 Report when it was urged,

> ....THE NECESSARY CONCLUSION IS THAT ADULT EDUCATION MUST NOT BE REGARDED AS A LUXURY FOR A FEW EXCEPTIONAL PERSONS HERE AND THERE, NOR AS A THING WHICH CONCERNS ONLY A SHORT SPAN OF EARLY MANHOOD, BUT THAT ADULT EDUCATION IS A PERMANENT NATIONAL NECESSITY, AN INSEPARABLE ASPECT OF CITIZENSHIP, AND THEREFORE SHOULD BE BOTH UNIVERSAL AND LIFELONG.[37]

Since then, as adult education as a separate entity has continued to grow, an ever increasing number of educators have come out in support of the need for education to be a continuing, lifelong process. The most articulate statement to this effect is the 1972 report of the International Commission on the Development of Education titled Learning To Be: The World of Education Today and Tomorrow.[38] In their report the authors articulated the principle that,

> Every individual must be in a position to keep learning throughout his life. The idea of lifelong education is the keystone of the learning society.[39]

To this end they recommended,

> We propose lifelong education as the master concept for educational policies in the years to come for both developed and developing countries.[40]

While few countries have even attempted such an integration there is little doubt that the evolutionary process of adapting to new

conditions is causing a movement in this direction. The philosophical imperative for lifelong learning is present and now awaits an operational strategy. In turn the operational strategy awaits the prerequisite public policy. The subject of the next section is to look at the efforts in B.C. which have in the past, and are presently, working for this public policy.

PUBLIC POLICY AND ADULT EDUCATION IN B.C.

This section is concerned with tracing the evolution of public policy regarding adult education in B.C. To begin, however, it must be realized that adult education as such has not been the subject of any single piece of legislation. Rather, there have been numerous pieces of legislation dealing with some area or interest which instead either employs adult education as a means for that policy or else identifies adult education as being a part of a larger policy. The principle of adult education (or lifelong learning) is yet to be recognized as a public policy in and by itself, firmly ensconced in legislation. Thus the task of tracing public policy which in some way addresses itself to adult education is a diffuse one. Nonetheless, enough legislation does exist to strongly suggest that adult education is recognized, although vicariously in most cases, as a significant aspect of government policy (at least in terms of dollars spent).

The first indication of the diffuse nature of public policy involves the constitutional question of just which level of senior government is responsible for providing adult education. British Columbia joined Confederation in 1871 under the terms of the British North America Act of 1867. In that Act, Section 93 ostensibly deals with the provision of education and makes it a Provincial responsibility.

However, it is significant that this pertinent section deals only with youth education, particularly vis á vis guaranteeing the right of sectarian education.

> Only those inchaote formalized institutions organized to accommodate the youth of Canada were considered.41

When it is realized that at the time of British Columbia joining Confederation attendance at elementary school was still not compulsory, it is understandable that such an idea as adult education was as yet unheard of and perhaps even beyond the comprehension of the Fathers of Confederation (as had been the case with education for the working class thirty years earlier in Britain). Thus while

> History and National policy have so far entrusted the Provincial Governments with responsibility for education

there exists

> no constitional restriction on the Federal Government's participation in Continuing Education.42

Even a cursory analysis reveals that indeed the Federal Government is very much involved in the field of adult education in a great variety of ways. For example there are Manpower Training Programs, Citizenship Education, the National Film Board and programs which the Federal Government has sponsored with the Canadian Association for Adult Education. However it would appear that by mutual understanding adult education is in fact a provincial responsibility. For this reason it is primarily an analysis of provincial government policy which is the concern of this paper.

Within British Columbia adult education is currently thought to

be a significant social force despite its so-called marginal status. It was considered by the Department of Education to be enough of an educational program to warrant a recent extensive study in search of future directions.[43] Even though the Government has not yet seen fit to formally recognize the place of adult education within the total education system, there can be no doubt that in the years since 1871 the Government has become increasingly involved and committed, through public policy, in facilitating such experiences for adults.

From here the analysis in this paper of public policy regarding adult education takes into account such factors as social forces at work within the province, particular individuals and organizations concerned wtih the promotion of adult education, and various influences external to the province which were brought to bear on legislative action.

Adult education has been part of public policy ever since the first legislative session in 1871. In that year An Act Respecting Literary Societies and Mechanics' Institutes was passed, providing for financial support of these organizations from public funds. While the support lasted for only eight years the Act nonetheless marks the first public policy regarding what is now considered an adult education activity.

Agriculture was the first area to receive sustained public support for educational activities. The Department of Agriculture was organized in 1873 and took immediate initiative in the way of policy. According to Gordon Selman,

> The Department provided practical assistance to primary producers in the province by means of correspondence, publications, assistance to agricultural organizations, consultation, competitions and fairs, demonstration establishments and short courses in several specialties.[44]

It was, of course, an important priority for the fledgling province that it have a firm agricultural base in order that economic development could take place in the various extracting industries and, further on, in the development of manufacturing industries. Recognizing this fact, the Legislature in 1873 passed the Agricultural Societies Incorporation Act which had the desired effect of spurring on the organization of agricultural societies and significantly increasing their memberships. In 1897 the Department of Agriculture took the further initiative of supporting the Farmers' Institutes with the passage of the Farmers' Institutes Act. Under the direction of Mr. T.M. Patterson, who was employed by the province for this purpose a successful network of Farmers' Institutes was established.

> Besides providing financial support, the department assigned permanent staff to oversee the organization of the institutes, and also a great deal of service to the organizations in the form of lectures, short courses, literature and other program support.[45]

In 1911 the Department of Agriculture further extended support to the agricultural community when Women's Institutes were provided with financial support under the terms of the Agricultural Assistance Act. Two years later the Federal Government became involved in agricultural education when it transferred funds to the provinces in aid of farmer education. This was the first instance of the Federal Government becoming involved in adult education irrespective of the B.N.A.

Act. As John Foster notes in his thesis, Education and Work in a Changing Society: British Columbia, 1870-1930,

> The Federal Government, notwithstanding Section 93 of the British North America Act, has, from time to time, acted in many matters of education, particularly where such matters have been important to Canada as a nation. In the particular instance of agricultural education, the Federal Government filled an important co-ordinating function in the difficult process of educating the farmer throughout the period 1890 to 1924.46

This fact is evidenced by the Federal Agricultural Aid Act of 1912 and the Agricultural Instruction Act of 1913.

Early emphasis of government policy regarding farmer education is quite understandable considering the importance of agriculture to the economy. For the most part the early settlement of the province was first oriented to agriculture, at least until the extracting industries focused settlement around mineral deposits. Another factor which Selman points to is the fact that the legislature initially was controlled by rural members. However, emphasis on agricultural education was common throughout North America and this was an early and well developed aspect of University Extension work. Certainly in the case of the University of British Columbia work in agricultural extension was a priority once the University was opened in 1915. Further it must be kept in mind that there were only primitive communication links in the province by which to diffuse knowledge and information on new techniques and hence the government by necessity had originally to rely on voluntary organizations to accomplish this diffusion process.

In the case of vocational and technical education the initiative for educational opportunities for adults rested with non-government

organizations as opposed to the case of agriculture where the government from the beginning recognized its responsibilities in this area. In fact it was not until just prior to the First World War that action was taken in the area of vocational and technical education. One of the reasons for this may be explained by the fact that B.C. experienced a significant immigration of skilled labour in the latter part of the eighteen hundreds such that no sense of immediacy was felt for establishing programs of technical education. As well, the development of technical education in B.C. was very much a part of the development of the public education system and in particular the secondary school curriculum. Whereas agricultural education took place mostly with adults who were "on the farm", technical education evolved as being an integrated part of the school curriculum.

Foster has determined a pattern respecting government policy towards the education of manual workers in B.C.

> The hypothesis tested in this study is that educational change, in the period studied, passed through three phases before finally becoming institutionalized. In the first phase, change originated in the rising aspirations of individuals in society, who, faced with a changing economic and social structure, began, independently and collectively, to seek means of fulfilling their expectations. Skill training became one important means of achieving economic security. A considerable number of Canadians, during this first period, purchased correspondence courses in their search for new skills. In the second phase, voluntary associations and private enterprise attempted to meet the demand for specialized training by providing vocational training programs. The greater costs of this form of education led the voluntary associations to petition all levels of government for financial support for the training schemes. Finally, in the third phase, the educational changes were confirmed by the Federal and Provincial Governments who took over and financed the expansion of private programs which had been successfully introduced in the second phase.[47]

A further development of subsequent importance to adult education was that education increasingly became a local responsibility. While initially the legislature of B.C. established a firm and centralized control of education, a gradual transfer occurred in the ensuing years.

> As the public education system expanded in British Columbia, and as cities became established, the provincial government gradually began to decentralize educational control. Eventually, most of the financial responsibility for education was delegated, first to large school boards, and, later, extended to other school boards.48

This move by the Provincial Government was to have profound implications for the delivery of adult education in British Columbia. Foster notes,

> The shift of educational responsibility from the provincial government to local school boards, particularly after 1893, led school boards to acquire two important functions as instruments of change. First, the school boards became the institutions responsible for interpreting the changing needs of the local community for education and training. Second, school boards acted as innovators of new forms of public education, forcing confirming legislation and supporting grants from the Provincial Government.49

The first and most significant precedent in this regard occurred in Vancouver when the Vancouver School Board in 1909 began operating Night Schools. Interestingly the idea of conducting night schools as part of the educational system had first been advocated in 1877 by the then Superintendent of Schools for the province, John Jessop. His suggestion was not acted upon and it was left to the Vancouver School Board to later initiate such a program. The night school program was confirmed and supported by the Provincial Government in the following year when the Public Schools Act was amended to accommodate the education of adults who had either interrupted or concluded their formal

schooling. As Foster pointed out, there already existed a need for such night schools and attempts at meeting this need were mostly the works of voluntary organizations (although there was also quite considerable use of correspondence courses.) However the greatest part of this need had gone unmet, as evidenced by the rapid expansion of enrollment once night schools were established and provided with provincial funds. The department of Education was quick to pick up on this and in 1914 appointed John Kyle as Provincial Organizer of Technical Education with night schools included as part of his responsibilities.

There were important developments respecting technical education at this time, stemming largely as a result of agitation on the part of both management and labour. Nationally there was a recognition of the need for a skilled labour pool to meet the manpower requirements of the growing industries. The provincial initiative in supporting technical education was supplemented with the Federal Government passing the Technical Training Assistance Act in 1919. This legislation, by offering financial subsidies to technical and vocational courses, gave considerable impetus to the night school movement at that time, as night school courses were largely vocational. As one would imagine in communities such as Anyox and Britannia the offerings of the night schools were in keeping with the industry giving rise to such communities in the first place.

By 1920 a number of public policies had thus been enacted which had tangential implications for adult education. Predominantly in the first fifty years of the province the emphasis of government policy was on economic expansion and the intent of the Acts passed in this period largely reflect this. Even the Night schools as previously was mentioned,

were mostly given over to supporting this emphasis through technical and vocational content. The only notable exception was legislation passed in 1891 respecting public libraries (Free Public Libraries Act) and later in 1919 when the Public Library Commission was established under the new Public Libraries Act. However the "ground was broken" for future developments and particularly so in the area of night schools. As well, technical and vocational education proved essential in meeting the demands of business and industry such that they continued to receive strong public policy support. Dr. Bert Wales describes this initial work in adult education as being reflective of the pioneering nature of the province.

> At the turn of the century this was a pioneer province and the beginnings in adult education were mainly through elementary education geared to frontier communities. Following the First World War, however, definite patterns, combining basic education and vocational skills began to emerge as programs typical of the first period.50

There were no public policies of note in the twenties which concerned any aspect of adult education. However, in this period two Federally funded programs, the Agricultural Instruction Act and the Technical Training Assistance Act were terminated. Work which had been done under the terms of the former Act was continued by the University of British Columbia. Although a recognized Extension Department at U.B.C. was not established until 1935, an early emphasis under the Dean of Agriculture (and subsequent President of the University), L.S. Klinck, was on agricultural extension as well as other extension programs such as sponsoring lecture series. The University thus took an early leadership role in working with adults and this role was to be given much greater prominence in the years to follow.

The depression years of the thirties proved to be very active years for adult education programming. The whole country was seriously and adversely affected by the social and economic dislocation caused as a result of the depression and British Columbia was no exception.

> The depression, when it came in full force, hit British Columbia and Vancouver particularly hard. In common with the rest of Western Canada, the nature of the economy, with its heavy reliance on primary resources and exports, was such that it was especially vulnerable to the forces at work.[51]

In response to the social conditions created by both high unemployment and the influx of transients, the provincial government found it immediately necessary to take positive steps to stem the tide of social unrest and low public morale. Selman refers to a societal "teachable moment" and suggests that adult education, now a major component of public policy, was in a position to make a contribution towards alleviating the widespread discontent.

> The most important feature of the 1930's, with respect to the development of adult education, was the broadening of both the extent and the purpose of public provision in this field. The extent of government's role, and that of government supported public institutions, increased greatly....By the end of the decade, public adult education services were not only greatly increased in volume, but also extended over a much wider range of concerns.[52]

The impetus behind this expanded role for adult education in B.C. was Dr. George Weir, Minister of Education in the Patullo Government. Dr. Weir was a proponent of adult education even before his election to office in 1933 and as a result under Weir's leadership as chief architect of government education policy, much was able to be effected.

> ...several significant measures in this field were enacted or implemented by the government. These included a major expansion of the correspondence courses into areas of particular interest to adults, a number of programs designed to serve the unemployed, the introduction of the Provincial Recreation program, the appointment of a provincial advisory committee on adult education to guide the development of services to the unemployed, the creation of the department's community drama program, and the launching of several programs of adult education - most notably the "Self Help" program - which involved a partnership between government and voluntary agencies.[53]

There is no doubt that the Provincial Government's initiative in adult education during the depression confirmed its position as the source of public policy respecting all aspects of adult education. This fact was recognized by E.A. Corbett who surveyed the status of adult education in B.C. as part of the Sandiford Report[54] on adult education in Canada. Sandiford's report suggested,

> The Government of British Columbia...plays the chief part in Adult Education. The work on the whole is fairly well co-ordinated and financed, but here again we see the need of bringing the various activities within the general 'set-up' of provincial education.[55]

Concomitantly, the Federal Government's role in providing adult education was by this time becoming quite clear. The Federal Government took the initiative, or else responded to the wishes of the provinces, in developing national policies on specific issues relating to adult education which were of national concern. This explains the number of policies respecting vocational and technical education which were designed to ensure a national pool of skilled labour. Also, by way of funding the Provincial Government in conducting programs, the Federal Government was de facto instrumental in educational policy relating to adult education.

Two significant developments occurred in the mid-thirties which were to exert considerable influence on adult education in British Columbia in the future. Firstly, as alluded to earlier, the Department of Extension was formally established at U.B.C. in 1936. The leadership the Department subsequently provided in the field of adult education was such that it was cited as being innovative amongst Canadian Universities.[56] Allied with this event was the founding of the Canadian Association for Adult education in 1935. This national organization, which included representation from British Columbia, became the first formal association to take on a co-ordinating role for adult education independent of government. Increasingly the C.A.A.E. was to involve itself in attempting to influence government policy at the Federal level. To begin with, however, the C.A.A.E. represented a focal point for adult educators which stimulated an identity for those involved in the field. At the same time the founding of the C.A.A.E. acknowledged the fact that adult education was becoming a recognizable movement, contributing in a variety of ways to the welfare of society. This fact was borne out in the Sandiford Report referred to previously.

By 1941 the development of adult education in B.C. had reached a point that the Minister of Education (Dr. Weir), appointed a special committee of the Public Library Commission with the directive to:

> make a general study of the facilities for Adult Education now existing in the Province and to submit suggestions and preliminary recommendations for its development.[57]

In the resulting document, A Preliminary Study of Adult Education in British Columbia 1941, it was strongly recommended that there be a

Provincial authority to oversee the development for adult education.

> The essential requirement for any successful program of Adult Education for British Columbia is a Directing, Controlling, Co-ordinating, Unifying, Centralized Authority. That Authority should be within the Provincial Department of Education.[58]

The recommendations of the report were not acted upon for numerous reasons, including other priorities dictated by the war effort. Nonetheless, the report is significant in that the government, at least in a peripheral way, seemed cognizant of its responsibility in the area of providing leadership in adult education.

The war years witnessed numerous temporary measures being taken to cope with the emergency situation, such as had occurred during the depression.

> The 1940's were years of rapid change in adult education in British Columbia. The coming of the war soon ended the need for development of programs for morale purposes such as those provided in the 1930's. It did, on the other hand, tax the ingenuity of all educational authorities to provide the expanded program needed to meet the industrial and military requirements for trained personnel during the war years. They were years, too, when the Dominion Government and the provinces provided more extensive financial support than ever before for the training undertaken.[59]

These programs, however, cannot properly be considered as being public policy in respect to adult education. Rather they recognize the importance of adult education as the means of achieving some other end than what unadulterated adult education purports to achieve.

In the period subsequent to the Second World War there were various modifications to many of the programs developed both during the depression

and the war. Adult education by this time found itself increasingly identified with recreation and physical education. (The exception to this was technical and vocational education.) It is thus not surprising that in 1953 the administrative structure of adult education in the Department of Education was consolidated under the Community Programmes Branch. As Wales suggests,

> The Department of Education established a Community Programmes Branch in 1953, primarily, in the first instance, to encourage educational and recreational activities in the community, and to co-ordinate these through community organizations.60

The Community Programmes Branch in this way assumed responsibility for the entire public adult education programme of the province with the noted exception of technical and vocational education. This remained under the separate Director for Technical and Vocational Education. L.J. Wallace was appointed the Director of the Community Programmes Branch and at the same time assumed the position of Director of Night Schools.

The effect of the restructuring was not so much to change public policy but rather to more clearly delineate the 'administrative system', referred to earlier in the public policy model, which concerned adult education. There was now a more readily identifiable entity co-ordinating the work of publicly provided adult education and particularly that of the night schools at the provincial government level.

An example of this new co-ordinating function was the bringing together in July, 1955 of all those involved with adult education in the public schools. Sixteen resource persons and twenty-two conference representatives attended this first Provincial Conference of Night

School Directors, Principals or Supervisors. The conference appears to have grown out of two or three smaller regional conferences and its ostensible purpose was that the Night School administrators would have the opportunity to share experiences and practices. However there is no doubt that the Department of Education recognized its responsibility to adult education, or night school as it was more aptly described. A statement read by Wallace is significant for the importance it placed on the contribution adult education was capable of making. While this was not a statement of public policy it was an indication of acceptance, or at least an acknowledgment of, the wider concept of lifelong learning.

> There is a significant need for adult education in our democratic society today. Democracy can only be achieved in a society where the adult is an active participant in the political, social, economic and cultural affairs of the community. There it is essential that the adult continue his education after his formal schooling, and in fact throughout life...[61]

Certainly it was within keeping with the progressive (at least relative to the other provinces) approach to adult education which existed in B.C. However, the reality of the situation was made evident in a statement at the same conference by the Deputy Minister and Superintendent, Dr. Campbell, when he pointed out,

> the Department does not wish to dictate policy too closely but it did have to maintain some control because of its responsibility to the public for public funds being spent on Night Schools.[62]

Adult education in British Columbia was entering into a new era in the mid 1950's. In the previous thirty years public policy for adult education had taken on a new direction largely in response to crisis situations. During the same period there had also emerged a growing

awareness of adult education and what it was able to deliver. For Government it had proved to be a potential realized in terms of its successful implementation when invoked in times of greatest need. With a return to more normal peace time conditions following the Second World War adult education was in a position to assume new directions. Without 'crisis management' to spur such development on, however, it was left to those directly involved in the field as practitioners to organize themselves to advocate on behalf of adult education. Thus in order to effect changes in public policy what remained to be accomplished was the formation of an association of adult educators.

It is significant that at approximately the same time as the Community Programmes Branch was established there occurred an initial meeting of adult educators. Making use of the public policy model presented earlier it is possible to now see the clearer delineation in B.C. of the input system (in the form of the embryonic professional association) and the administrative system (i.e. the Community Programmes Branch). This emerging differentiation was to become a feature of adult education in the province and particularly so with regard to influencing public policy.

It was necessary that there be an association of adult educators in B.C. in order that some order be brought to the 'environment' in which adult education was operating in the province. In short it was a logical development at a time when a quite considerable amount of adult education was taking place in a diffuse manner. As well, it was only natural that such a bringing together of adult educators would lead eventually to an organization concerned with more than just the sharing of ideas and

information. Selman introduces this notion in the title of a paper written to describe the initial activities of the association of adult educators, Toward Co-operation: Developing A Provincial Voice For Adult Education in British Columbia.[63] The dichotomy between the administrative system and the practitioners of adult education was beginning to emerge.

The First Conference on Adult Education in British Columbia held in 1954 came about as a result of the initiative of the three most active agencies in the field: the Community Programmes Branch (L.J. Wallace); the Adult Education Department of the Vancouver School Board (Graham Bruce); and the Extension Department of the University of B.C. (John Friesen). It brought together fifty different organizations active in the field. While there was enthusiasm for the Conference which guaranteed a further Conference six months hence, there was not an immediate call for a formal organization. In fact it was another two years before a more formal structure was adopted. However the reasons for the gingerly approach can be deduced from a point made by William Griffith writing more than twenty years later:

> Adult education is typically conducted by individuals trained in other specialties working in institutions established to serve some other primary purpose. Consequently, those who attempt to discern the boundaries of the field are frequently perplexed by the absence of a dominant institutional form such as can be found in all other levels of education. They are further confused because there is no professional society of adult educators, since, in other fields lacking a common institutional form, members of a professional society define the limits of the field. The lack of a professional society of adult educators and of a dominant institutional form accounts for the difficulty that both academicians and practitioners encounter when they try to get a clear image of the adult education field.[64]

It was the intention of the organizers to develop an organization along the lines of the national C.A.A.E. model of the Joint Planning Commission.

> That organization brought together on a regular basis representatives of a wide variety of agencies and organizations involved in adult education work. It provided an opportunity for association, consultation and mutual stimulus.[65]

A committee referred to as the Continuing Committee on Adult Education was formed and included L.J. Wallace of the Community Programmes Branch. The purpose of the Continuing Committee was to insure the planning necessary for the continuance of the semi-annual meetings. At the fifth conference held in Vancouver on November 28th, 1956 it was decided to seek a more formal organizational structure for the meetings. Again with the participation of the Department of Education in the person of L.J. Wallace, a committee was struck to make the appropriate recommendations. These were subsequently presented to the sixth conference in May, 1957. The purpose of the so designated B.C. Adult Education Council was to hold semi-annual conferences for the purpose of: 1) making it possible for organizations and individuals in the field of adult education to keep in touch with each other and 2) providing a clearing house of ideas in the field of adult education.[66] Further, one of the eight members of the Council's managing committee was a representative from the Department of Education. The implication would seem to be that certainly up to this time the relationship between the providers of adult education and the government (which either directly or indirectly was responsible for the public policies which allowed this activity to occur) was a close, co-operative one; one that operated informally and effectively.

As well, though, it should be noted that the adult educators were so involved with the field that they were not really in a position to be making demands for further public policies which would create new vistas for adult education.

There is a noteworthy exception to the foregoing. In January of 1958 the Government of B.C. announced the appointment of a Royal Commission on Education. The terms of reference were for the Commission to inquire into the various phases of the provincial education system with particular attention to programmes of study and pupil achievement. The Department of University Extension prepared a brief titled, CONCERNING ADULT AND FORMAL EDUCATION. This submission represents the first such brief to the Provincial Government regarding recognition of the principle of lifelong learning. Their recommendations were directed at ensuring that students in the formal school system had the opportunity to become more effective learners such that they would be in a better position to participate in programs of further education upon their graduation. The brief also recommended better administrative provision for night school and apprenticeship programs. Lastly, the brief argued on behalf of the problems of women in education. This "new development" of presenting formal briefs to government regarding adult education marks a change in the heretofore more informal communication pattern. While such a development might be seen as a significant maturation for adult education within the province it might also be argued that a new 'adversary' approach to government relations vis á vis adult education was emerging. Many would argue that such was necessary.

While the Extension Department brief was the forerunner of things

to come it was still 'slightly ahead of its time'. At the time of the formation of the B.C. Adult Education Council it was noted that, "There was agreement that the Council should continue on its present highly informal basis."[68]

In the interim between the Sixth and Seventh B.C. Conference consideration was given by the C.A.A.E. (and provision subsequently allowed) for an affiliate status between the national body and any provincial organizations which so desired such a relationship. At the Seventh Conference of the B.C. Council a restated constitution was approved which took advantage of this affiliation. Of interest to this analysis is that the aims of the fledgling organization were broadened to: 1) explore problems and possibly undertake projects related to co-ordination and development and 2) giving form to a national and international movement of adult education.[69] While these expanded aims were not conceived of as a mandate for political action they foreshadowed a time when such action might be necessary. More appropriately, these expanded aims could be interpreted as reflecting an increasing identity by those involved in providing education for adults of an important role which they, as adult educators, had a part in playing.

The weak posture of the B.C. Adult Education Council regarding input to public policy formation was emphasized by Gordon Selman at the Western Regional Conference of the C.A.A.E. held in Regina in May, 1959. At that meeting he gave a paper in which he made the point that the nature of the provincial associations was such that,

> They were informal, clearing house, non-membership organizations and could not respond to such challenges as taking a stand on matters of public policy...[70]

Interestingly, Selman recommended that,

> the C.A.A.E. National Council members in each province be constituted a provincial committee or executive to undertake such activities on behalf of C.A.A.E. at the provincial level. [71]

Thus it would appear that the C.A.A.E. was looked upon for providing leadership with respect to public policy based on its experience in such matters and the resources at its disposal to provide that type of service.

Illustrative of the inability of the B.C. Adult Education Council to involve itself in an issue is the incident reported by Selman regarding the Council undertaking a study on "the problem of the retraining of workers". This issue was raised at the Seventh Conference held in November, 1957. However, the Executive of the Council subsequently considered the matter and determined that the proposed committee to look into the matter "was not within the Council's terms of reference". Selman reflects on this matter:

> This incident revealed two facts of some significance. The first was that there were differences of view concerning the proper role of the Council. (It may be significant that the executive, which contained some of the founders of the provincial organization, had a narrower view of its role - perhaps a carryover from the pre-1957 period - than did some other members.) The other matter to be noted is to the extent that the B.C. Council as then constituted was not a satisfactory vehicle for carrying out projects of this kind, then this no doubt led some people to feel that a different kind of provincial organization was needed. [72]

Another example of this same inability to act occurred at the time of the already mentioned Chant Royal Commission on Education which was conducting hearings in 1958. Selman lamented:

> It was not possible for our Adult Education Council to present a brief to this Commission. Its 'J.P.C.-ness' prevents this. There was, then, no effective instrument at the provincial level to speak for that which the C.A.A.E. stands.[73]

As a result of this and other factors a new organization for adult education in British Columbia emerged. At the May 1961 conference on "Adult Education in British Columbia: The Next Decade" sponsored by the B.C. Council in lieu of their regular conference, the following observation was made respecting the general expansion of adult education activities:

> Two problems arise from this: the number of individuals and organizations actively concerned with problems of adult education and adult learning has increased enormously and the range of goals towards which this adult education is directed have proliferated. At the same time, because of this increase of activity in the area of learning the need for firm relationships and co-ordination with agencies of formal adult education as well as among these new interests and endeavours has been accentuated. There is in the opinion of this committee a demonstrable need for liason and co-ordination which involves matters of political and social policy at all levels of government and other institutions. This can only be adequately served by an agency which is independent, for these purposes, from the large and active program agencies already in the field.[74]

Significantly there were a growing number of individuals who recognized the need for a more politically active organization which could make representation to government in the manner of the C.A.A.E. In particular there were the B.C. members of the C.A.A.E. and the B.C. Executive of the C.A.A.E. who were attuned to this point of view. By now it was apparent that there existed in the minds of many prominent adult educators a greater design for the B.C. Council than just conferencing. Indeed it was felt that, given a 'Federal' system of provincial and national adult education associations, there could even be implemented a national policy

for adult education. Adult educators were seeing more clearly the role they could perform in Canadian society. This was evident by the fact that all the recommendations regarding the formation of a new provincial body were endorsed by the conference.

In the spring of 1962 the B.C. Division of the C.A.A.E. was founded. The umbilical cord which existed between the former Council and each of the three original founding agencies, (the Department of Education, the Vancouver School Board and the Department of Extension) was thus effectively severed. It should be noted, however, that all three remained active, to varying degrees, in the new organization. The new B.C. Division was thus independent of any particular agency operating within the province and hence in a better position to speak on behalf of the larger interests of adult education.

Before going further in an analysis of the role of the newly created provincial voice for adult education, it is first important to consider some other educational developments which were taking place in British Columbia at the same time.

The nineteen sixties proved to be a decade of considerable growth for education in the province and in particular for higher education. A report prepared in 1962 by John B. Macdonald, then President of the University of B.C., titled Higher Education in British Columbia and a Plan for the Future[75] recommended the establishment of two new universities, in addition to U.B.C., to serve the province. As well, the Macdonald Report recommended the establishment of local two year colleges throughout B.C. (To date fourteen such community colleges have been built.) As for technical and vocational education, British Columbia took

advantage of Federal financial assistance and developed nine vocational schools as well as the British Columbia Institute of Technology. In addition to this rapid expansion in higher education, expenditures on education generally were further increased in order to accommodate the overall growth in the elementary and secondary school system.

Quite obviously, significant strides were being taken in the sixties to update the provision of formal education. Adult education was a beneficiary of this, if only in a roundabout way. A greater awareness of the value of education, the increase in both the number and quality of facilities designed primarily for adult use (though not necessarily for more informal adult education) and greater accessibility for further educational opportunity are just three of these benefits.

As a result of this growth in the five year period between 1961 and 1966 the following increases related to adult education were recorded:

1) enrolment in night school increased from 46,548 to 100,292

2) the number of School Districts operating programmes increased from 58 to 75 (out of a possible 85).

3) the number of full time Directors of Adult Education grew from two districts employing full time directors in 1961 to thirty-one in 1966.[76]

However, as for any public policy specific to adult education there continued to be no action on the part of the Provincial Government.

It is not surprising that along with this general expansion of education in British Columbia there would be a concurrent growth in the number of individuals, associations and organizations making up the education milieu and wishing to have input to government on numerous matters relating to government policy. As for adult education three such

associations took on this task, the forementioned B.C. Division of the C.A.A.E., the B.C. Association of Adult Education Directors and the B.C. Chapter of the Canadian Vocational Association. The activities of each of these Associations in attempting to influence public policy will be discussed in turn.

The B.C. Division of the C.A.A.E. began its activities in the fall of 1962. Among its stated objectives were the following:

1) to provide special focus and leadership for organizations and individuals who are active and interested in adult education in B.C.

2) to provide information services and consultation for organizations and individuals who are active and interested in adult education in B.C.

3) to represent the C.A.A.E. in negotiations with official and unofficial bodies regarding matters related to adult education in B.C.[77]

Membership in the Division was open to any individual or organization in B.C. which subscribed to the principles and objectives of the Division. Clearly the B.C. Division was created as an umbrella organization and the membership represented such interests as the university, industry, labour, voluntary and private organizations, business and public school education.

In the next eight years the B.C. Division of the C.A.A.E. as an organization was unable to exert itself to any great extent in the area of influencing public policy. While the reasons for this are beyond the scope of this paper a number of reasons can be postulated:

1) The B.C. Division was part of a national movement and as such its attention was divided between issues of national and provincial concern.

2) As part of a national association the B.C. Division was compelled to spend considerable energies in attempting to maintain both the national and the provincial structures.

3) The composition of the membership made it difficult to present a unified and considered point of view.

4) There was a need to emphasize the offering of a program to the membership which would attract and maintain their interests in the Division, resulting in a de-emphasis in any attempts at influencing public policy.

5) There was a considerable amount of multiple membership which existed between the three provincial associations concerned with adult education. Of the three the B.C. Division represented the most general of interests and as a result the other two associations were able to be more specific when attempting to influence public policy.

The foregoing is not meant to imply there was no interest at all in the importance of influencing public policy and indeed such was not the case. For example, on a number of occasions the programs of the Division were scheduled to coincide with such conferences as the 1963 and 1965 Provincial Conference of Directors of Adult Education. Conferences were also frequently co-sponsored with Government as in the case of the Conference on Citizenship Education held in November 1965 (which was jointly sponsored by the B.C. Division of the C.A.A.E., the Citizenship Branch of the Federal Department of Citizenship and Immigration and the Community Programmes Branch of the B.C. Department of Education). As well, a member of the Executive of the Division for all the years of its existence was Mr. Alan Cartier, Provincial Director of Adult Education.

Undoubtedly the most significant attempt by the B.C. Division at influencing government to act on behalf of adult education was the report produced in 1966 by the national headquarters of the C.A.A.E. titled, A White Paper on the Education of Adults in Canada.[78] The intent of the White Paper (which borrowed the Federal Government's practice of releasing

a preliminary discussion paper prior to enacting legislation) was to work towards the development of a Canadian policy for continuing education. According to its authors the report,

> . . .is submitted to the people of Canada in the belief that it will provoke discussion leading to eventual realization of coherent policy for 'Continuing Education'. Only by means of such a policy can this vital 'Fifth Freedom' of learning for all - at any age - be assured.[79]

The B.C. Division, whose members had a major part in authoring the report, distributed the document widely, including to all M.L.A.'s and to the Ministry of Education. However, there was no forthcoming change in public policy in British Columbia.

In view of the lack of a public policy for adult education in B.C. and the quite remarkable growth in the quantity of adult education activities, there were constant reminders directed at the membership of the Division's role in this regard. In the President's Report for 1965 Gordon Selman challenged the organization to come and act together on the basis of common concerns. One such concern which he specified was:

> Our concern for and influence on public policy as it affects the development of adult education.[80]

The following year Selman wrote to the President of the Division suggesting that

> . . .the B.C. Division, C.A.A.E., concern itself with influencing public policy with regard to adult education. Influencing public policy should be the basis for program planning.[81]

This raised a difficult question for the Division.

> Is it a mistake to become a pressure group or is it necessary if the Division is to try and influence public policy?[82]

It is fair to say that the Division never truly resolved the question of the appropriateness of it becoming a pressure group or not. Rather than assume the position of an advocate, the posture of the Division was more like that of a consultative body (with the exception of the previously mentioned White Paper). In this way the Division participated in discussions on such policy matters as Federal actions concerning legislation on bilingualism and biculturalism, the Federal Task Force on Public Information, Educational Television, and Manpower Training. It was more the national headquarters which took the initiative in influencing public policy and these attempts were predominantly concerned with issues of national importance. Thus it is not surprising that those most interested in addressing strictly provincial issues and concerns were not completely satisfied with the B.C. Division. This manifested itself particularly with the administrators of public school sponsored adult education.

As was pointed out earlier, the first half of the nineteen sixties was a time of quite considerable expansion in adult education. Included in this growth was the significant increase in the number of full time directors of adult education from two in 1961 to thirty-one in 1966. In May, 1963 a Conference of Public School Adult Education Directors of British Columbia was held in Vancouver. Between this meeting and a similar one two years later, preliminary organization began on forming a kindred group of public school adult educators. This association was to be separate and distinct from the B.C. Division.

> Regional representatives reported that their regions favored a separate association of Public School Adult Educators. While individual members would be encouraged to join C.A.A.E. as well, it was felt that there should be no formal affiliation of the two associations at this time.[83]

The resulting association was initially known as the B.C. Association of Directors of Adult Education but shortly after changed its name to the B.C. Association of Adult Education Directors (B.C.A.A.E.D.).[84] Among the objectives of the new association was the following:

> to interest and encourage the membership in the study and development of legislation and regulations concerning adult education and to encourage and promote studies in all phases of adult education.[85]

Since its founding in 1965 the B.C.A.A.E.D. (and as it is presently known, the B.C. Association of Continuing Education Administrators) has been very active in putting the case forward concerning public school adult education. As the membership represents a kindred interest (the provision of adult education by the public school system) the association has been able to make specific inputs and recommendation.

Soon after the founding of the B.C.A.A.E.D. the executive took the initiative in opening communications with the Department of Education.

> The Secretary is to write a letter to the Deputy Minister of Education requesting that he meet with the Association Executive to discuss mutual problems involved in the growth of Adult Education in B.C. This meeting is to be held at the earliest convenient date.[86]

While a meeting was held early in 1966 with the then Deputy Minister of Education, Dr. Perry, such an initiative was of little avail. This was to be the pattern for the next decade.

> It was reported that to date no reply had been received from the Department of Education regarding the presentation which was made to Dr. Perry and Mr. Levirs in March. The Secretary is to write a letter requesting any information which may be forthcoming from the Department.[87]

In 1968 the administrative system of the Department of Education was changed such that the position of Provincial Director for Adult Education (Alan Cartier) was transferred from the Community Programmes Branch to being directly responsible in the Department of Education. The role of the Director was as follows:[88]

1) to administer the school act as it relates to Adult Education
2) to act as a consultant in Adult Education when invited
3) to advise and assist volunteer agencies involved in Adult Education.

As the transfer did not represent adult education being placed any higher within the Department of Education than had previously been the case, this change did little except to confirm the marginal status of adult education within the administrative system.

In January 1969, the Executive of the B.C.A.A.E.D. decided to once again attempt to put forward the case for public school adult education in the form of a brief to the Minister, to be followed by a meeting. This initiative, as before,was to no avail, causing the association to consider seeking an alliance with the B.C. School Trustees Association to add support to such future requests.[89] However, such a joining of forces did not come about. Subsequent attempts by the Association to participate in directing future public policy respecting adult education continued to be rebuffed and even ignored.

> Mr. Monasch reported that no reply had been received from Education Minister Brothers in response to his letter offering to meet with the Minister to discuss the future role of adult education in B.C.[90]

Despite these rebuffs the Association determined to continue pressing its case.

> It was also agreed that the exective should continue to work with the Department of Education, possibly through a delegation to visit with them in Victoria, to discuss such things as the financing of continuing education programs, grant structure, the curriculum for adult secondary students, the relationship of public school adult education and community colleges and such other areas of concern.[91]

The election in September 1972 of the New Democratic Party introduced the first likelihood of any substantial change in government policy on a number of issues, including education, in over twenty years. In the year following the election the Association presented two briefs to the Minister of Education, Eileen Dailly. These two documents were a Brief on Curriculum and a Brief on Administration and Finance of Public School Adult Education. No action resulted from the briefs. However, with this change in administration, the new Minister of Education appointed a special commissioner on education (John Bremer) to look into the total education system in B.C. This touched off a flurry of "input" activity from many corners. In the case of the B.C. Association of Continuing Education Administrators (the name had been changed from the former B.C.A.A.E.D. in May 1971), the Bremer Commission requested a submission from the Association regarding a proper administrative structure within the Department of Education for the support of adult education within the province. This was to encompass public school adult education, colleges,

vocational schools and the British Columbia Institute of Technology. A brief was subsequently prepared and forwarded to Victoria in the fall of 1973 on the Structure of Continuing Education Within the Department of Education.

By 1974 the Association found itself making formal representations either directly to the Minister or to the Department of Education on such a continuing basis that it appointed a Standing Committee on Briefs. The task to which the committee immediately addressed itself was preparing a brief for presentation to the College Task Force appointed earlier and which had produced a working paper[92] for reaction by those interested parties. This brief became part of a larger document which was presented directly to the Minister in November, titled A Position Paper on Continuing Education in British Columbia.

The Position Paper developed by the B.C.A.C.E.A., along with the brief on Finance and Administration of Public School Adult Education in the Province represent the culmination of experience and collective thinking up to the end of 1974 on the part of the B.C.A.C.E.A. regarding public policy. However, favourable response from Government was still not forthcoming. In December of the same year, as a further reflection of the frustration which was being experienced by the Association, the Executive endorsed a motion passed earlier by the Fraser Valley and Lower Mainland Chapter of the B.C.A.C.E.A. which read

> It was the CONSENSUS of the meeting that we recommend to the B.C. Association of Continuing Education Administrators that the Minister of Education be encouraged to establish a commission or task force to study and recommend philosophy and future directions for Continuing Education in this province and further that the assistance of the Association to carry out such a study be offered.93

Before any action was taken on such a recommendation the government was defeated and the Social Credit party returned to power. Developments as a result of this turn of events will be considered later on. First there is a need to consider the activities of the B.C. Chapter of the Canadian Vocational Association.

Occurring at about the same time as the formation of the B.C. Division of the C.A.A.E. was the bringing together of those concerned with vocation and technical education, both nationally and in British Columbia. Vocational and technical education have always made up a large component of adult education activities and in fact such education is typically the forerunner of a more expanded adult education program offering. It has been the good furtune of vocational and technical education to enjoy the support of government and particularly the Federal Government. As Canada was forced from being a country of "farmers and woodchoppers" to being an industrialized nation (largely as a result of the impact of World War One) the Federal Government became cognizant of the need for a national scheme for the training and development of the necessary concomitant work force. Due to the fact that the responsibility for vocational and technical education was in a grey area in terms of constitutional division of power, the Federal Government took the initiative in enacting public policy in support of this aspect of education. This action has taken the form, for the most part, of providing capital and operating funds to the provinces. Further, vocational and technical education have often been used as instruments of public policy in times of national crisis. As a result, there were many individuals in the field who were interested in joining an association of technical and vocational educators.

In 1963 the Canadian Vocational Association (C.V.A.) was formed, the constitution of which provided for provincial chapters. In British Columbia a chapter was incorporated in 1964 during the period of rapid institutional expansion in the field of vocational and technical education. This organization carried on until 1972 when it merged with the B.C. Division of C.A.A.E. to form the Association of Continuing Education.

In the area of public policy the B.C. Chapter of the C.V.A. was active in influencing government. However this was accomplished mostly on an informal basis. As compared with liberal adult education, vocational and technical education has enjoyed a far greater overall commitment on the part of government for its aims and objectives. The liaison between those in the field and those in the administrative system of government has been much closer and more direct. As well, by being an important instrument of government manpower development policy, vocational and technical educators have been more concerned with coping with growth as opposed to promoting the government for acceptance of such education. Thus it is much easier to place public policy respecting vocational and technical education as it is manifested in British Columbia than it is other aspects of adult education. While the B.C. Chapter of C.V.A. was active in influencing government policy it was more a result of the positions in the field of influential members than the Chapter itself. There appears to be no briefs written by the Chapter. (Perhaps such is the difference between cooperation and non-cooperation!)

The founding in April, 1972, of the Association for Continuing Education (A.C.E.) was, for the most part, simply a reorganization of what had already been. The need for a new organization had been

precipitated by the C.A.A.E. dismantling its divisional structure. The object of the new Association for Continuing Education was stated as follows:

> The object of the Association shall be to provide leadership in the development of continuing education in totality within the Province of British Columbia. [94]

The Association came about as a result of merger talks during 1969 and 1970 amongst the B.C. Division of C.A.A.E., the B.C. Chapter of C.V.A., and the B.C. Association of Adult Education Administrators, although the latter group maintained their separate organization. (The reasons for this separation point to the inherent weakness of such an umbrella organization as A.C.E.) By attempting to represent and speak on behalf of a broad spectrum of interests, specific interests are, by necessity, somewhat subsumed. Thus the membership of the B.C. Association of Adult Education Administrators continued their own association (known subsequently as the B.C. Association of Continuing Education Administrators) while at the same time supporting A.C.E.

A.C.E. soon became active in making representations to government. The period 1972 - 1975 was one of great promise for educational reform through the initiatives on the part of the newly elected New Democratic Party as reported earlier - the Bremer Commission and the Task Force on the Community Colleges. An editorial in the A.C.E. Newsletter suggested:

> It is essential at this point that all possible pressure be brought to bear on the Government, to encourage them to consider carefully the concept of, and the need and requirements for, life-long learning. At present, our education system gives an overwhelming preponderance of concern to the education of the young. We do not argue that the need for this work to continue and become even more effective, but it is essential that increasing.....

.....attention and assistance be given to the learning needs of the adult population.[95]

The basis for the Association's input was the findings of a survey of the participants in adult education activities in B.C. conducted in the spring of 1973 by the Adult Education Research Center at U.B.C.[96] Among the conclusions was the observation that,

> There is no strong commitment to adult education apparent in the organization, policies, or programs of the Department of Education.[97]

In summarizing their findings the authors suggested,

> The initial steps toward a widespread public recognition of the concept of lifelong learning and the consequent provision of additional learning opportunities for adults probably must come from the Provincial Government through a strong statement of support and ultimately the commitment of resources.98

Making use of this report the Association prepared a brief to the Minister of Education.

The Brief, Organizing for Life-long Learning, urged the government to take action in support of adult education.

> In order to establish a satisfactory position for adult education within the system of education in B.C. the government must:
>
> 1) recognize its responsibility by a policy statement which places adult education as a full partner with other forms of publicly supported education.
>
> 2) provide a process through which government organization and support will make this possible.
>
> 3) provide leadership and coordination or program development to ensure that these community needs are effectively met.[99]

However the Minister's subsequent White Paper on Education completely ignored adult education. This exclusion was somewhat rectified when,

shortly before the N.D.P.'s defeat in the 1975 Provincial election, the Education Minister, Eileen Dailly, announced a Recurrent Education policy. It was never put into effect.

In 1975 the Social Credit Party was returned to office. The new Minister of Education, Dr. Pat McGeer, established three investigatory committees to look into various aspects of post secondary education: the Commission on Technical, Vocational, and Trades Training; the Commission on University Programs in Non-Metropolitan Areas; and the Committee on Continuing and Community Education. The latter Committee was made up of adult educators representing various aspects of the field. Hearings were conducted throughout the province, a process which, along with the composition of the committee itself, served to focus quite considerable attention on this dimension of education. For adult education, the resulting report, while not necessarily reflecting everyone's views, does represent the cumulative thinking of those closest to the actual provision of adult education services in the province. Once again, however, no general policy favouring adult education has been forthcoming. The only change of note has been in the administrative system itself where there have been changes in the organizational chart regarding adult education. The effect of the changes has been to give adult education a more visible position in the departmental structure. Under the Associate Deputy Minister of Education there is to be an Executive Director of Adult Education and Academic Programs. Reporting to this position will be a Director of Continuing Education who in turn will have an official filling the former position of Coordinator of Adult Education reporting to him.

Yet even these changes are far from providing a recognition of the

place of adult education, recurrent education, life-long learning, continuing education or whatever. Perhaps the frustration of those most committed to these ideals is summed up in a report given at a recent Executive Committee Meeting of the B.C. Association of Continuing Education Administrators.

> Ron Bowcott gave a report outlining the Association's efforts over the years, through a series of Briefs, letters, oral presentation, private conversations, etc to and with the Minister and other Department of Education officials, in an attempt to introduce changes in Adult Education policies and procedures in Victoria, and how, generally speaking, ineffective we have been.[100]

While not denying that there has been growth in the field of adult education, most adult educators would suggest this growth has been the product of circumstances rather than deliberate planning. Without the deliberate planning the growth continues to be haphazard rather than guided, marginal rather than central. Thus over one hundred years after the acceptance of the principle of publicly supported education for youth in B.C., those who believe in the extension of this educational advantage throughout the life of an individual continue to work for this principle being guaranteed in the form of public policy.

SUMMARY

Presently adult education may be portrayed as existing in a limbo situation between the demands of those adults who wish to participate in learning activities and the lack of recognition by government of its responsibility to support such activities. This "chicken or the egg" situation is evident in the literature. For example Verner on the one hand suggests that flowing from the demand will be the necessary support.

> Like elementary and high school education, adult education will become firmly rooted in American society when enough people seeking to understand the problems of a tortured world, or trying to keep abreast of accelerating social and technological change, or simply eager to remedy deficiencies in their own education, demand it.[101]

However, the argument is made on the other hand that government must first accept the major responsibility for adult education.

> In the modern world the well-being of society is an important function of government, and in every state education is accepted as a public responsibility, whether exercised by central or local organs of government. It must accept this responsibility, too, because much of the organization of education needs to be done on a communal basis and to be financed from public funds.[102]

Clearly, if adult education is to realize its purported potential, a strategy of acceptance must be formulated by its advocates which will win favour with both government and the adult public alike.

There is little doubt that, left with even the present level of government support, adult education will continue to grow in terms of

both numbers of activities and participants. Such has been the historical pattern. The point to be made, though, is that such growth is to a large extent growth proportionate to the increase in the adult population and does not represent real growth overall. Further, growth of this kind is not egalitarian and those who stand to benefit the most by adult education are the very ones who will continue to be disadvantaged by lack of accessibility. The dilemma is a real one for adult educators. However, it is not beyond rapprochement.

In British Columbia there is presently precious little public policy regarding adult education. This is despite the numerous attempts outlined in the previous section. However, when viewed in perspective adult educators in B.C. have attempted to gain the support of government by methods which are best likened to a woodpecker. For the past twenty years they have 'pecked away' at the administrative system by way of briefs and representations. Such a strategy has resulted in little of consequence towards developing a provincial adult education policy. The government itself has chosen to put low priority on the Report of the Committee on Continuing and Community Education, established ostensibly for the purpose of assisting in the process of formulating public policy for adult education. Without wanting to suggest that all the "inputs" to the administrative system over the years were in vain, it would seem that adult educators need somehow to "regroup".

At the Interdisciplinary Symposium on Life Long Education sponsored by UNESCO in Paris in 1972 it was put forward that if we wish to work out a life-long education policy,

> ...we must make a very thorough analysis of the educational system in the light of individual needs and of the economic, social and cultural conditions of modern society. We must also be prepared to redistribute the resources available for education. 103

It would seem that, based on the lack of policy outcomes to date for adult education in B.C., a new dialogue must be opened up with those educators concerned primarily in pre-adult education. Future movements for reform in education must be done in the context of life-long learning as supported by educators generally and not just adult educators.

Such a call for a unified approach to the provision of life-long education in British Columbia is not new. For example, the 1941 Public Library Commission Report suggested such an approach while at the same time pointing out that it,

> ...implies and involves almost revolutionary changes on the part of the state, in both attitude and method, to the whole field of adult education... Education is not the concern of the state merely through the childhood period--the least influencial decade of life--but throughout every year of life as a citizen. To do this the state must enlarge its program and provide facilities for the education of adults, in degrees corresponding to those which it has long recognized as the right of the child.104

This position has recently been echoed by the Committee on Continuing and Community Education's report where it is recommended that:

> The concept of life-long learning be adopted by the provincial government as basic to the planning of the total public educational system in British Columbia and that such a view be incorporated in legislation.105

What is suggested, then, is that the adult education "environment", supplying input to the administrative system, requires further organization. Just as it was first necessary to bring all adult educators together into a kindred association in 1954 so it is now necessary to

bring all educators together. If such a bringing together is indeed possible (and it must be if life-long learning is to have any meaning at all) then the task of formulating and implementing a policy of life-long learning is made considerably easier.

The role for the Pacific Association for Continuing Education[106] becomes a larger and more challenging one. Not only must it continue in its endeavour to represent all adult educators but it must actively take the concept of life-long learning to all organizations and groups concerned with education as well as to government.

The necessary preliminary work required for such an effort has already been undertaken by UNESCO.[107] This international organization has adopted such a plan on a global scale and has made quite considerable progress towards the reality of life-long learning.

The move for public policy in support of adult education must also be a popular movement. In this regard it is important that adult educators see themselves in part as animateurs - working at helping adults speak to government of their need for continuing education. Concomitant with this is the obvious necessity for adult educators to provide adult learners with learning experiences which are satisfying and effective.

The existing public policy favouring adult education provides enough of a forum for this work to begin. However, short of another crisis comparable with that of the depression years the likelihood of government taking any real initiative in the direction of an integrated system of life-long learning is extremely doubtful. Thus it is left to adult educators to carry on working toward the goal of a state supported system of continuing education, thereby assuring adults of the opportunity for learning throughout life.

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